

/269/

- 131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
 361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
 [648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
 [199] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with resi-
 dents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection
 Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region,
 supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldeias
 /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho,
 a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which
 have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
 101 aldeia, during January-February, 1936, at the time when the
 132 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts
 648 which they are able to have at other times of the year with the
 Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous,
 some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
 563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside
 from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen,
 leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.
- 361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on
 the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is
 bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
- 241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
 137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the
 forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
 231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
 177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
 [223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
- 621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition
 to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
 621 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
 162 away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or
 [221] on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximate-
 ly 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

/271/

Čera Phratry:

Bādejaba (Chief) clan

O Čera (Čera of the Ibis) clan

Ki (Tapir) clan

Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Big-Armadillo-Red-Arara-Gilt-head) clan

Bakoro clan

Bóro (Pendant of the lower lip) clan

Beside these clan divisions properly so called one finds a certain number of distinctions of different character (Note I, p. 37).

The morphological structure of the village directly indicates the social organization. The houses are distributed around a big circle, the approximate center of which is occupied by the men's house (baite-mannanage°); the latter is built on a north-south axis.

A line west-southwest and east-northeast, very oblique in relation to this axis, divides the village into two practically equal halves: the southeastern part comprises the Tugare houses; the northwestern part is formed by the Čera houses. The diameter of the circle having been set a little too short for the number of houses, one house belonging to the Ki clan has been pushed slightly behind the alignment (Pl. VIII, A /see p. 46 /; in the foreground the O Čera Čębege^wō hut partly hiding a Ki hut. In the background, from left to right, the Ki kujagoreō, Bokodori Čębege^wō, and Bokodori-Kōge baiaddada^w huts). Numerous native sources state that in the past this situation was normal and that the village was composed of several concentric circles, the houses belonging to the same clan being located approximately one behind the other.

The layout of the village thus expresses the social structure. But it also expresses its geographical position. A second axis, very oblique in relation to the preceding one and perpendicular to the course of the river, in turn divides the village into two halves, the Čābōge^wōge, i.e., "the upstream ones," and the Čębege^wōge, or "downstream ones." Each of these halves evidently includes houses belonging to both phratres. And the spatial distribution of the clans in the interior of each hemicycle causes three of them to

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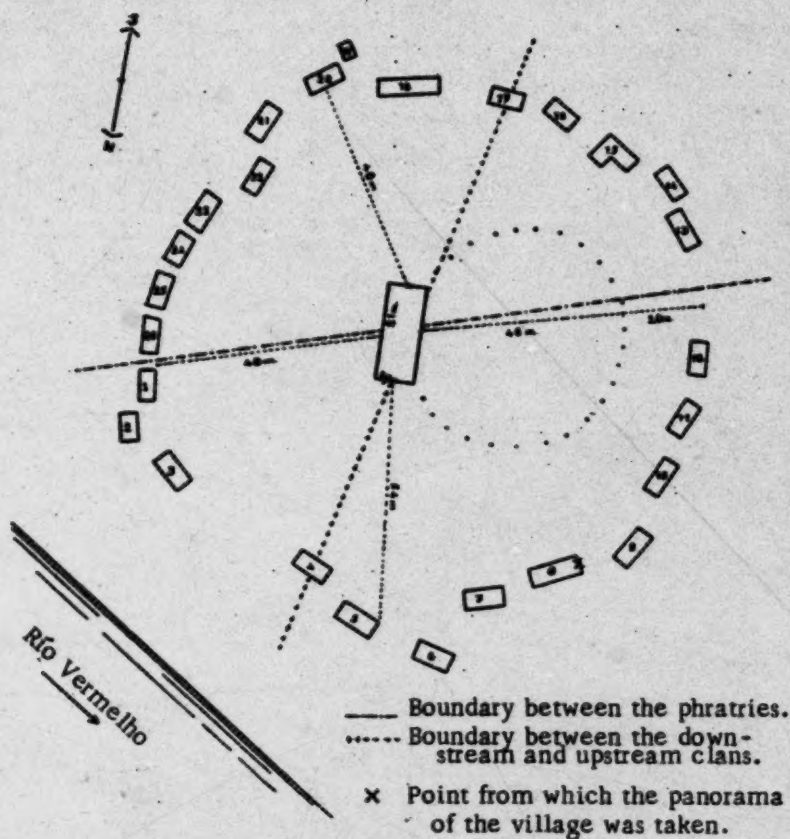


Fig. 15. —Plan of Kejara aldeia. Above the boundary between the phratries: the Tugare; below it, the Čera. The Čabōge^{wōge} are on the left (upstream) and the Čebege^{wōge} on the right (downstream) of the axis which separates them; in the middle, the Baiadda^{čēge}.

/283 cont. /

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the population. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the importance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage^a was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious tasks. A little later Tušawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site

• [361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream. [731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tušawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them [533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his disposal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

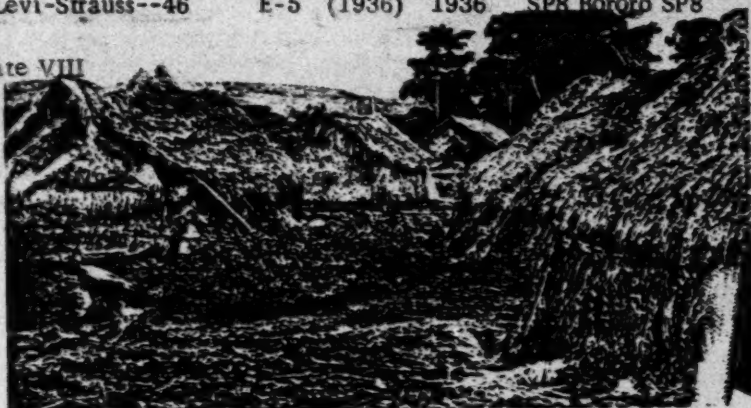
/284 cont./

203 The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony
512 /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night
614 falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannange^o, near which
[537] the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes
a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound suc-
cessively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive,
orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this
raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house.
At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so.
With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out
of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours.
[361] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the
beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated
[516] on the west side of the men's house. Each lies down wrapped in
[302] a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact
of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection
[285] would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or
eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives
or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they
move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll
call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by
turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch
themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come
out of the houses. They form groups on the thresholds, where
[533] more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more
and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted
at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive
arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the
plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.

634 We were not able to obtain any serious information on the
[614] choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within
the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the
sister's son. In fact, Tušawa had no heir. According to native
informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to
meet after his death to designate a successor. Tušawa, the

Plate VIII

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C

/See captions on next page. /

Plate VIII

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

- A. The enclosure of the circle of houses.
- B. The village present at a ceremony.
- C. The large and the small marid'do.

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THE BORORO

By ROBERT H. LOWIE

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otuké* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otuké* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known.

I. *Bororo*: (1) *Eastern Bororo*; (2) *Bororo da Campanha*; (3) *Bororo do Cabeçal*; (4) *Umatins (Barbados)*, formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sepetuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pizarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1741 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Forrados as a protection against the *Southern Cuyepé*. In 1811 part of the aldeas das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct.

II. *Otuké*: (1) *Otuké* proper, about lat. 17°-18° S., long. 59°-60° W.; (2) *Covareta*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curuminaka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S.

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Góyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha (Campina)*, i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jaurú, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo do Cabeçal (do Cabeçal)*, north of the Jaurú River on both banks of the Rio Cabeçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Orarimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Covaredos*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kejara, Poberi, and Jarudori.

In 1888, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Thereza Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 350 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Isabel, at the Pequirí-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region.

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1934, Baldus (1936) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house.

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frié's Kejari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowaky (1895 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavalcos and across the Bolivian border.

In 1931, Petruccio (1932) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavalcos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*.

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[619]B
[31]B
[131]
[361]B
[114]
[162]B
[77]B
[172]

CULTURE

SUSTINENCE ACTIVITIES

241/114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldeia the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koalowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbachini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

[178] At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals [462] included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and [956] various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated [231] the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, bottom), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 Food preparation.—Salt was originally unknown.

262 All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are [263] boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is [574] served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large [342] rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, [345] which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of [184] the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaças*

only the Cabocass

- 361 lack this characteristic structure, and even they have an equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

[184] Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

342 The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs according to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, bottom; 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

[462] The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on, for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. However, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

353 A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

342 How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks of a Bolivian aldeia of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, bottom; 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows, the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,



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PLATE 61.—Bororo houses. Top: São Lourenço Bororo house. Bottom: Bororo de Caramuru village.
(Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p.432-B]



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PLATE II.—Bororo village of Bororo. Top: Men's club in foreground. Bottom: Women in native dress.
(Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-C]

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chapadão, as is also mammalian and floral life. The rivers are likewise well stocked with fish, and as the pantanal originally was comparatively thickly settled, so is this part of Mato Grosso. The quantities of fish seem to determine the density of the population. Indian villages are found along the rivers quite closely together. It is this section of Mato Grosso that is poorly and in some parts totally unknown.

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Most of the southern part of the state is given over to civilized pursuits. The aboriginal peoples have practically disappeared, either having become exterminated or absorbed by the newcomers. From the time of the arrival of the earliest exploring parties, diamonds, gold and rubber have attracted the European adventurer, but now the main activity is cattle raising, though the search for diamonds still continues, especially at the headwaters of the Paraguay and the Araguaya rivers. A number of modern towns thrive along the railroad line, which runs from Porto Esperança on the Paraguay river, eastward. The most important cities are Cuiabá, the capital of the state, and Corumbá, the terminus of the shipping lines from Montevideo and Buenos Aires. S. Luis de Cáceres is a typical frontier town, conservatively maintaining an atmosphere of the old colonial days. [Plate II, 1.]

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Only the Eastern Bororo, on the São Lorengo, have survived the incursions of the white man. Pacified but a few years ago, they have been collected on reservations, where they still maintain their own culture. Pirigara, Corrego Grande and Rondonopolis, all on the São Lorengo river, are comparatively large settlements.

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The Bororo da Campanha have almost disappeared, and there exist but a few families of the semi-nomadic Guató. These are not of pure blood, having mixed with negroes and whites, and have practically forgotten their original culture. On the Taquary, a few Terenos have been collected in a settlement.

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At Barra dos Bugres a few Barbados remain. Their pacification has been completed and they are making rapid progress under the tutelage of the Inspeccoria.

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Further north the Paressi and some Nambikuaras live in settlements along the telegraph line. The Paressi have shown great adaptability for Brazilian culture.

The Inspeccoria maintains other posts, in various parts of the country, but at places like Pedro Dantes it has not succeeded in establishing permanent settlements. [See map, Plate XXV.]

[98]

¹[i.e., Umutina - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 100]

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With the exception of the hills of Dourados, the country between Corumbá and S. Luis de Cáceres is pantanal, with here and there a hill or range of hills rising abruptly from the level lowlands. Between Dourados and the Jauru river, the Bolivian border and the Paraguay river, is the vast ranch of Descavaldo, which is larger than Belgium in area, with many thousands of cattle roaming its meadows and an insignificant number of people to testify to its existence as a reclaimed land. Wild life is more abundant than the cattle, demonstrating its great tenacity in comparison to human life. Its original human inhabitants have gone, and new ones, Brazilian, Paraguayan, Bolivian, German and American, have taken their place. A mere handful of Bororo, who are so only in name, remain where there were once thousands.

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But the ranch is rich in archaeology. Its aboriginal population planted in the ground some phases of its culture which have withstood the action of water and other destructive elements. There are numerous localities where the archaeologist can recover some of the products of the arts of the now-extinct tribes. The newcomers to the land have not left these undisturbed. In the making of caña and in keeping it afterwards the large funeral urns that can be so easily gotten from the ground have been found to be excellent receptacles. In the making of new pottery, it has been discovered that the clay of the old mixed with the fresh preparation, gives it a better temper. The result of these two useful discoveries has been the ruthless excavation of a number of sites in a most destructive way. Fortunately the area is a vast one and the population very sparse, and archaeology is to be found everywhere, so that the scientist can still tap fresh and undisturbed sources.

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It has been known that urn fields are plentiful in the region, and Max Schmidt also discovered petroglyphs in the hills of the Morro do Triunfo near the Ilha de Caracaras. The natives also report the presence of mounds or tumuli, from one of which at Agua Verde, located on the Descavaldo ranch, the specimen shown in Plate XIX, 3 is supposed to have come, according to the lessee of the territory. It had been planned to visit the Morro do Triunfo and the hills of Dourados to search for petroglyphs, and also to excavate one of these mounds. Climatic conditions interfered, causing the abandonment of these projects, for when the waters were high it was impossible to reach the desired localities, and when they had withdrawn, ethnology was occupying my attention.

[104]

[Text continues on p. 106]

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172*Unit C*

A large urn bearing a bowl cover, the inner surface of which bears a painted rectilinear design in red. The bowl is a large one, measuring forty centimetres across the top and fourteen in depth. In the bottom of the urn were found fragments of bones.

Unit D

A globular urn about forty centimetres in diameter, bearing rudimentary handles. It was covered with a bowl and contained disintegrated skeletal material.

Unit E

Urn of type (a), on which rested another urn of type (b), which was covered with a bowl. Both urns contained skeletal material.

Unit F

One of the largest urns taken out, measuring 1.23 metres in height, and .97 metre at the greatest diameter. This specimen is now in the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro. It bears no decoration. With the debris that it contained was found some skeletal material.

Unit G

A large urn of type (a), measuring .90 metre at the greatest diameter and an equal amount in height. The sides slope in abruptly forming shoulders, terminating in upturned rim collar. It bears no decoration. It likewise was originally covered with a bowl.

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HORROR DA CAMPANHA

While work continued at the cemetery site, a visit was paid to the remnants of the Bororo de Campanha, collected at a village locally known as Laguna.

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The trip to Laguna was made in the company of Messrs. E. R. Fenimore Johnson, John S. Clarke, Samuel T. Hoopes, Floyd Crosby, the cameraman, and guides. The village is situated on some high ground, covered with palm and banana groves. It consisted of a few huts arranged haphazardly, with that of the headman at the edge of a cleared

[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with hairy palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleeping either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no industry whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments.

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language being almost forgotten even by the older people.

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Several times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

EASTERN BORORO

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On the São Lorenzo river are a number of colonies of the eastern Bororo, who have not come so much under the influence of European civilization. These people still live apart in their villages and maintain their own institutions and industries. They unquestionably differ from the western Bororo in many ways.

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The colonies at Pirigara, Corrego Grande (São Lorenzo), and Rondonopolis were visited by the expedition, but Corrego Grande received most attention. Sound motion-picture studies of the dances and industries were made and rich collections of artefacts obtained.

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Unlike that of the Western Bororo, the village is still an orderly affair, being built in circular fashion with the men's hut in the center. The men actually live in this hut, the other houses really belonging to the women. Fishing, the cultivation of manioc, and hunting are the main occupations. [Plates IV, 2; V, 1, 2; VI, 1, 2; VII, 1, 2.]

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Since an excellent study of a community of Bororo exists by Colbachini, little could be said of a descriptive nature in this brief paper that would not be duplication. Therefore, it is felt that time and space ought to be given to the Xingu trip.

AT THE HEADWATERS OF THE XINGU RIVER

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My original plans were to descend the Kuluene river, which has never been descended by an ethnographer; in fact, only recently has it been mapped by Major Ramiro Noronha. However, after several conversations with Major Noronha at Cuyabá, finding that such a plan would add difficulties which would not bring any added results, I decided to descend the Kulusen and ascend the Kuluene to the Seventh of September, and then to ascend that river. This had the advantage of avoiding a longer overland trip and many miles of rapids, and offered the opportunity of seeing more aborigines.

For purposes of reconnaissance and as a safety measure, it was decided to make use of the airplane. Accordingly, before beginning the overland trip, two flights were made to the north. We decided to depend on water for taking off and landing, since the country did not offer such open runways that landing on wheels would be safe.

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[Facing P. 180-A]

[Plate XXV-A]

INTRODUCTION

131 The Bororo live in the western part of Mato Grosso,
178 Brazil. The area they inhabit was formerly much larger, ex-
tending on the east across the Bolivian border, on the north
[161] to Cuiabá, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only
about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas,
one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the
[657] other to the south of the Rio das Mortes. The first is en-
[797] trusted to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the
[177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becom-
ing smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken
by cattle ranchers.

241 The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and
[22] they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice.
However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively
little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees
and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest;
weeding is practically nonexistent.

• 361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the
ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around
[513] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's
[513] house. Married men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but
they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools
and ornaments or just chatting.

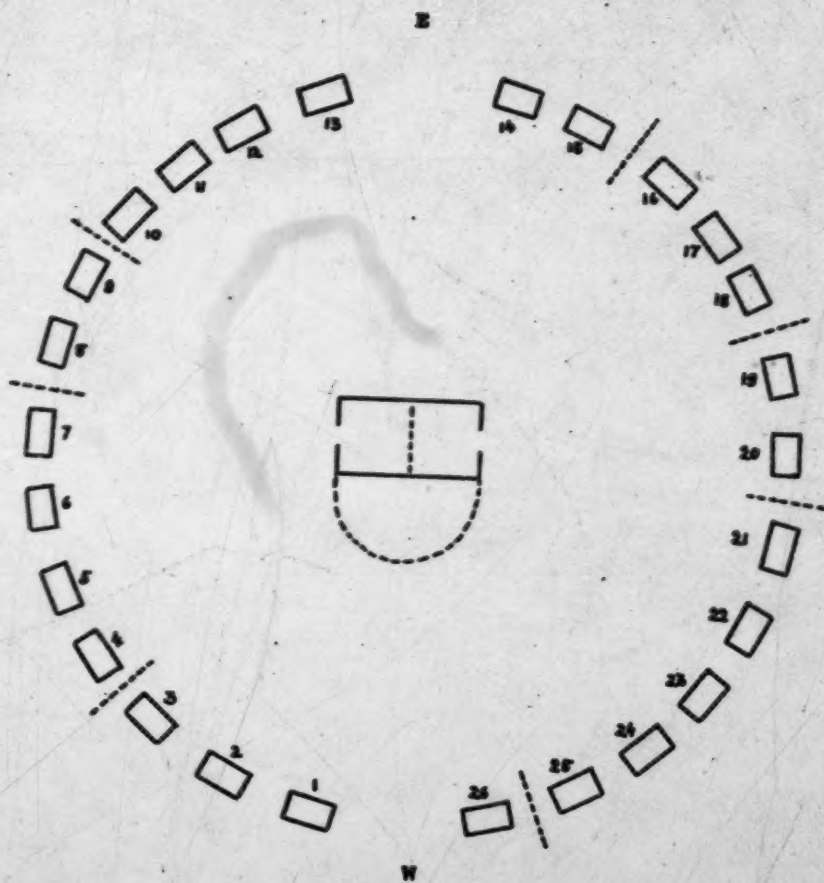
Ogaa and ornaments or just chatting.

361 The village layout is a reflection of the Bororo social structure. The Bororo point around the village circle with their fingers to show the place of important social groups. It is not necessary that these social groups actually be present in a village; the ideal village plan is in Bororo minds.

The villages are always situated near rivers. In the part of Mato Grosso where the Bororo live, rivers flow from east to west, and the villages are oriented so that the east-west axis divides them into two halves. The Echeræ moiety occupies the southern half, the Tugarege moiety occupies the northern. Each moiety consists of four clans, each clan of two subclans, and each subclan of many lineages. A lineage consists of people who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor and carry the same family name, which is the ancestor's personal name. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said by the Bororo to be related as matrilineal descendants of brothers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son) and thus established a new lineage. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools, animals, and plants. Though the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within the moiety are treated as if their common ancestors had been brothers. In a village it is desirable for the important lineages to be represented so that the village can properly carry out

Table XI

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¹
Paiwoe, Apiborege

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Aroroe Chobugiwuge, Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge

[796]

Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge, Aroroe Chebegiwuge

• [361]

The order reflects the spatial succession of the subclans (and, in the case of Paiwoe and Apiborege, clans) in the village.

In Set D the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan consists of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge proper (the subclan to which the Bakorokudu lineage belongs) and a less important subclan. The latter subclan, upstream in relation to the first, is called Badajebage Chobugiwuge. Because it contains the important two lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and his younger brother Mamuyawuge Echeba, the more important subclan of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan is split into Bakoro Echeræ (Akaruyo Bokodori) and Enogujeba Echeræ (Mamuyawuge Echeba).

We have seen all the different ways in which the two clans Badajebage Chobugiwuge and Badajebage Chebegiwuge can be designated. But what is the reason for so many different designations? Why are the usual ones—Black, Older Brother, and Big; and Red, Younger Brother, and Small—not used for these clans?

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The Akaruyo Bokodori lineage of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and the Bakorokudu lineage of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan have a special place in the Bororo social sys-

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The Paiwoe and Apiborege clans are called together because, as the Bororo explain it, they are numerically small.

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

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The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings, the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe—the spirits or souls—which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It

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is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the

[SS]

Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

[772]

[539]

Badahebaga rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure aregodore. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara,' akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echere, echere,' ino tugodui. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echere borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badahebaga egore: 'Ah, Echere bororo u radewo. Aregodore kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji.'

- Aroe are not bound to any particular time of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day.
- 36/ Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think about themselves as being in the center of the village. The village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village. It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

The distinction between human and animal, and asexuality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions between Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an

773 considered famous and great precisely because he did so
775 little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names
[533] of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the impor-
tant Bororo song "Roya Mugureu."

776 Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)—personifications of Bope—are
616 not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are con-
sidered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae
moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth.

[614] But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the
Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the
basic equality of the moieties.

772 Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest
616 that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture.
773 Crocker writes:

The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

775 Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east),
776 and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both
616 cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the
[341] Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the vil-
lages published by the Salesian missionaries before the
Enciclopedia Bororo show the men's house oriented on the
east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east,
and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

775 201; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942: 34; Albisetti 1948: 7;
776 Albisetti 1953: 626). This layout is in agreement with the
646 description of the Marido ceremony, in which the Aroe led by
361 Akaruyo Bokodori (see page 158) come from the east and enter
776 the men's house through the Tugarege door, while the Aroe led
by Bakororo come from the west and enter through the Echeræ
door. These examples seem to indicate that perhaps the two
moieties are not as equal as the Bororo like to say.

Chapter XII
STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Changes of Roles

178 The structure of the Bororo society, as presented here,
613 allows the Bororo great potential for adjustment. Increase
in population and consequent clustering of the members of the
same lineage within a single village can motivate the less
important lineage brothers to seek their fortune in other
places where they will be more appreciated and will have the
chance to exercise their lineage prerogatives in ceremonies.

[362] Also, if a house becomes too crowded and a particular lineage
[591] sister wants to live in her own house, she can persuade her
husband to build her a new house. In this way a couple can
become more independent, but there is always the risk that
she and her children will in time be classified as younger
brothers of her particular lineage, and her personal names

- [36] will become lineage names. In summary, there are three im-
portant consequences of an expanding population: a. founding
of new villages; b. more equal dispersal of population among
villages; c. establishment of new and less-important lineages.

177 With the decrease in population that has been going on
178 from the time the Bororo came in contact with civilization,
361 the process is reversed: a. old villages are abandoned be-
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177 cause the normal social and ceremonial life cannot be main-
178 tained; b. women who belong to the same lineage but are not
613 able to trace their relationship genealogically unite under
[361] the same roof; c. when the more important lineages die out,
the less important ones take their places and names, basing
their claims on the fundamental equivalence of brothers.

[55] When a tribe is prospering, personal names are taken as lin-
eage names and the number of lineages grows. When a tribe is
shrinking, these names are taken to be just different names
for the same lineage and the number of lineages gets smaller.

613 However, it takes time for this new adjustment to take place;
626 as long as their contemporaries are alive, the lesser lin-
178 eages that assumed the names of their older brothers are
whispered to be impostors. Officially they are recognized
as what they claim to be, but behind their backs their "true"
origin is told. In Pobojari, of the 26 important lineages
mentioned on page 121, members of only seven lineages were
recognized as true descendants of great heroes; members of
five others were considered justified in their claims be-
cause their names were interpreted as just different names
of important heroes; nobody claimed membership for five lin-
eages; and the claimants to membership in nine lineages were
considered impostors.

Let us consider a few examples. X claims to be Ki
Bakororo, but he is "really" Toro Baru. He lived in the vil-
lage of Aijeri before coming to Pobojari. There were many
Kiye in Aijeri, but all of them were sons of Echeræ, i.e.,

ritual practices accompanying death are often among the most elaborate and impressive ceremonies to be found in the primitive world. No more spectacular funerary ceremony is known to ethnology than that of the Bororo Indians of Brazil.

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The Bororo now living on the São Lourenço River in the state of Mato Grosso call themselves *Orarimogodogue*—Fish People. Their settlement consists of a number of large thatched houses arranged in a circle around an open dance plaza. Each hut is occupied by a group of closely related women, together with their husbands and children.

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[p. 39-E]

302 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
 593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather
 armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head
 to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
 304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy,
 a kind of chain called *nogodau*, about six inches long, made of flat
 oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older
 men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
 291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
 881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males
 who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield
 called *bá*. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from
 the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made
 of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or
 more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having re-
 ceived it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws
 of the taton canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast
 and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around
 the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out
 of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are
 worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments
 above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on
 special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
 562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared,
 and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like
 a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first
 causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches
 wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth,
 passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a
 female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she
 often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from
 us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in
 front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang
 it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

● 361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very
 346 irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood
 in the center and was called *bachytu*. *Bae* (by) is the name of the
 ordinary family hut. This *bachytu* is the bachelors' hall, the
 headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the
 men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

Cook]

BORORÓ INDIANS OF MATTO GROSSO, BRAZIL

51

room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the club where visitors are received and entertained. The backytu of the Ta-Dare-Mano Para village is about 30 by 30 feet and 18 or 20 feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end, though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads, arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food. When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, however, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years belonging to one of the leading families died. This gave us an opportunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

Brazil.

133 everywhere precipitous, and in many places, perpendicular. The basins below are, for the most part, fairly level, while here and there colossal towers arise. After a storm, the air [132] is amazingly clear and transparent. This, and the altitude of our position, enabled us to see enormous distances in every direction, and to look down upon a stupendous expanse of wild, rugged, unexplored and unknown world, that was scarred and furrowed, torn and upheaved by the storms, convulsions and subsidences of countless ages. Our view of the earth was like gazing at the moon through a powerful telescope, and beholding a hemisphere of mountains and hills, plateaux, valleys and chasms. At one place, the Rio Vermelho has tunneled under a mountain and one can look down into appalling depths; while at other exceedingly interesting localities on the edge of this Giant's table, some of which we visited New Year's day, this river has made prodigious excavations. Once, standing on the edge of a broad, vertical-walled gorge and shouting toward the opposite wall, we listened to a splendid echo which bounded and rebounded, again and again, zigzagging, as it descended the gorge to the open basin. We also saw this day, numerous rain-storms raging around us at the same moment, some near and others remote. This was one of the most peculiar and interesting New Year's Days that I have ever experienced.

131 Steamboats could ascend from the Amazon and from the river della Plata to within a few miles of where we stood. There are rapids to overcome on the Amazon side, 'tis true, but none on the Rio della Plata side. This would give nearly three thousand miles of navigation each way from the divide.

We had now left civilization behind and were getting into the land of the Bororó. Our New Year's encampment was 361 close to the first small village of this tribe that we had yet 609 seen, and these simple dwellers of the wilderness, wearing 291 nothing but a coat of red grease, thronged about us all the 302 time we remained here, gazing at us curiously, for we were 533 no less a freak to them than they were to us. It was while here that I first heard them sing the *bakororó*, the wild man's

Brazil.

The same day, we descended through the forest into a deep, narrow valley, then up the precipitous side of a mountain having six or seven terraces, descending, finally, into the basin of the Rio Vermelho, which is covered by a dense forest, and passing close to an immense rock called the Tower of Antonico, which rises vertically to a height of five or six hundred feet. We were ascending and descending and cutting our way all day, encountering everywhere the beaten runways of wild beasts, such as tapirs, pigs, capibaras and jaguars. 133 137

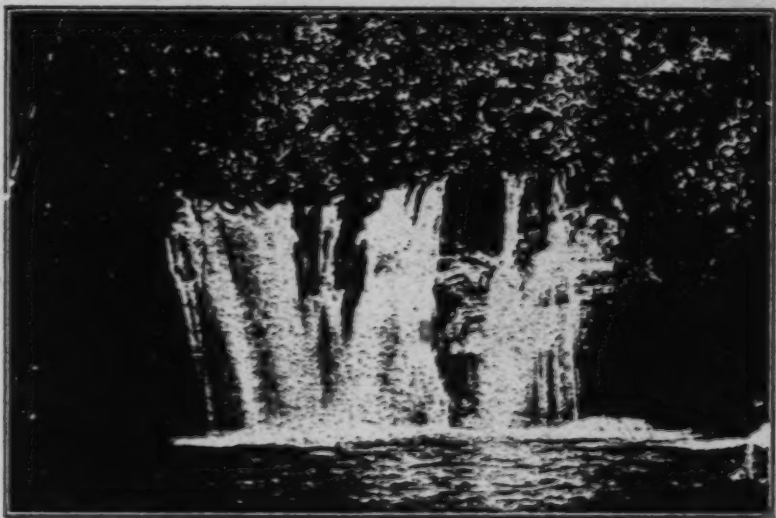
About evening, we arrived at another small encampment of the Bororó by the Rio Vermelho. As we approached the cluster of huts, we were greeted by a volley of college yells, or war-whoops, given by the Bororó in honor of their two fellow tribesmen, who were accompanying us, and of my companion. We remained here until morning, passing the night in one of the savage huts. It was littered with rubbish, but we got the natives to clean up a little, then to sprinkle some clean sand around on the ground. This work was done by the females. 361 574 122

This was an extremely wild appearing spot. The somewhat open space in which the few primitive residences were clustered, was shaggy with a low growth of bushes and trees, and hemmed in closely on all sides by a dense, unbroken virgin forest; while in seemingly perfect harmony with these savage, austere, though wildly picturesque surroundings, were the nude, brightly painted, uncouth appearing human beings who existed here, their long, black, gum-matted hair flowing over their shoulders. One could not fail to be profoundly impressed when contemplating the strange, awe-inspiring picture of these children of Nature nestling, like Adams and Eves and their progenies, in the bosom of wild, unsubdued Mother Nature, exceedingly remote from civilization and almost as untouched by it as the Cave Dwellers. The red, earth-charged torrent of the Rio Vermelho flowed through and added to the wild beauty of this Paradise of Nature. It was at hightide at the time of our visit, and many varieties of excellent fish sported in shoals in its turbid waters. The 361 137 291 302 000 136

8: Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8



A Bororo Village.



Christmas Day in the Heart of the Primitive Forest.

Page 354

[Facing p. 360]

CHAPTER XXXII.

**LIFE AMONG THE BORORÓ.—EYED CONSTANTLY
BY A HORDE OF NUDE SAVAGES.—ASTONISH-
ING MAKE-UPS.—PRIMITIVE HOUSEKEEP-
ING AND SANITATION.—HORTICULTURE.
—FOODS.—VEGETABLE COWS.—A
WONDERFUL PALM.**

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[133] AFTER nearly two months of horseback riding and camp-
ing, we arrived at the confluence of the river Pogúbu, or
Ponte de Pedra, and the Rio Vermelho, which is about forty
miles north of the junction of the former river with the
[103] São Laurenço. Here, we found a large Bororó village, called
[122] the Tá Dáre Mão Páro—potato bank—where we remained
several weeks, camping in a stake-walled, palm-branch roofed
hut that had been erected a quarter of a mile from the Indian
village by my companion. We had to cross the river Pogúbu,
which we did in a small, dugout canoe made by Senhor An-
tonio, and swam our horses over. It is about two hundred
[133] yards wide at this point, deep, and has a strong current. A
heavy rain storm broke just as we were within a few hundred
yards of our destination, so we rushed our entire cavalcade
right into the big, open hut.

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152 When our arrival became known at the primitive metrop-
olis, and it was known instantly, our hut began to fill with
our nude and painted fellow beings of all ages and both sexes,
who came to observe us and to examine all the marvelous
things that we had brought from our wonderful, and to them,
enchanted world. They flocked in upon us regularly at dawn

Brazil.

its obscure heart an exact image of anything it winks at, must be some wicked device of the *lopi*-demons. The savage believes that any one having his picture may practice some black art over it and bring evil upon the original: that, as one may do what he wishes with the image, he likewise has power over the real man. Moreover, if one is such a powerful conjurer that he can secure that image, What may he not do with the original? I had to bribe them with valuable gifts in order to secure a number of pictures. 000
[754]
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The Bororó, like other South American tribes, dwell in gloomy palm-branch huts that resemble squatty, old haystacks huddled together in complete disorder in the coarse grass and among the scraggy trees of the upland jungle. They are constructed by first planting two posts in the ground twenty or thirty feet apart, ten feet high, and terminating in a fork, to support the ridge pole, which is held in position by means of creepers from the forest, instead of nails. Against the ridge pole, are reclined and bound, the rafters, the feet of which are sunk slightly in the ground and the upper ends are bound to the ridge pole. Bamboo poles are next bound horizontally to these rafters, while upright stakes are set in at the gables; and finally, to the entire frame-work, are bound huge, feather-shaped palm-branches, to shed the rain, and exclude the light because of the flies. The primitive residence is now complete. The only light that enters is what filters through the palm-branches. To enter, one pushes aside the palm-branches at one end and enters in a stooping position. 342
[361]

These strange, uncouth dens of savagery, are dark, unclean, and ill-smelling, and so devoid of every object considered absolutely essential to a civilized human abode, that it is difficult to comprehend that they are the dwellings of true human beings—the homes of multitudes of real men, women and children; where they are born, reared and pass their days, and the only abodes they have ever known. Entering one of these human lairs, we find it more or less strewn with decaying food refuse, such as bones and other rejected parts of fish, mammals, birds and reptiles; shells, stones and peelings [364]

Brazil.

abode, and the entire family, as previously stated, is virtually ⁰⁰⁰ in a state of nature.

When the primitive residence becomes so unsanitary that ³⁴² even the barbarous occupants cannot longer endure it, they ³⁶⁴ erect a new hut a short distance from the old one and move into it, burning, or merely abandoning the old dwelling. No dray is needed to move such a household, and the packing up is very simple, for the housewife can gather up in a few minutes and carry in one load the entire possessions of the family. At wide intervals of time, the entire population of ³⁶¹ the primitive city moves out, constructs another cluster of ³⁶⁴ huts on a new site, then burns the old city. This is their method of house-cleaning and of city sanitation. Instead of removing the garbage, they remove the town, or, at least, change their residence. There is no sweeping, dusting, wash- ³⁵⁶ ing, scrubbing, ironing, mending, dress-making, or washing ²⁹⁶ to do in these primitive abodes. The over-burdened civilized housekeeper must admit that primitive housekeeping is not destitute of advantages. One to four families dwell in a hut, ⁵⁹² each having their own little camp-fire, or *kitchen*, for, in a limited sense, at least, they do not believe in having "two cooks in one kitchen."

In every Bororó encampment, or village, there is one very ³⁴⁵ large hut around which all the family huts cluster. This hut ³⁶¹ is called the *baihytu*—great hut—while a small, family dwelling ³⁴² is called a *bai*. This great hut is a public building, or a sort of town hall where all public functions occur. It is also a ³⁴² bachelors' hall where all the single men of the village reside; ³⁴² a kind of club-house or hotel; the village workshop where the ³⁴² men do the most of their weapon and ornament making; and ³⁴² finally, the public brothel. No female of the tribe is per- ³⁴² mitted to enter this primitive "house of mirth" save at ³⁴² night for immoral purposes, or to participate in funeral ceremonies.

Some Brazilian tribes, instead of having many small huts ⁰⁰⁰ in each of which two or three families, only, reside, erect one very large hut, one or two hundred feet long and seventy-

Brazil.

used with fatal effect against traders ascending narrow streams in canoes, for the savage manipulator, hiding behind the dense masses of trees and bushes that lined the bank of the river, stealthily launched his deadly darts without being discovered.

721
B111 In war, the Bororó, like many other South American tribes, prefer a hand to hand attack with heavy clubs. If they can choose the hour of attack, they select a moment just before dawn, or else the evening just after dark. They yell fiendishly when making an attack.

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221 The Bororó always build their villages near some important stream, for they look more to the water for their flesh food than to the forest, and are far more expert fishermen than hunters. Though when fish are scarce, which they are during several months each year, they scour the forest in search of game. At such times, entire families leave the village to wander far away through forest and jungle, remaining absent two or three months.

224 They bravely attack, hand to hand, even the most ferocious game—the jaguar. When this powerful beast attacks a man, it springs to within a few feet of him, then rises up on its hind feet, like a bear, and closes with him. It is remarkable that an animal of the cat family should assume this position; but perhaps it is suggested to it by the upright position of the man. When forced to meet the beast in close combat, the Brazilian hunter provides himself with a heavy bar of wood five or six feet in length and terminating in a fork. Grasping this with the left hand, he holds it inclined in front of him with the foot resting upon the ground, and parries the attack by receiving the brute in the fork, which gives him time to thrust into its vitals the long knife held in the right hand.

But the Bororó hunter rarely uses the fork, employing, instead, a still more dangerous method. Having wound fifteen or twenty yards of hair rope around the left arm, he presents it, doubled, to the great cat when it rises to attack him, and at the same instant, plunges a knife into its heart. I saw

Brazil.

Nagarida man, with much ostentation and politeness, now steps quickly over to the *Sheroidi* group, grasps a man by the wrist, trots him around his wheel, then stops in front of it, announcing by this act that the wheel is delivered to the team that is to run with it. A *Sheroidi* promptly returns the compliment by stepping gravely over to the *Ta Nagarida* group and repeating the ceremony. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces to his wheel, one by one, in the same manner, all the men of his team until each squad of human ants surrounds its own big worm. 526 616

The signal to begin the race being given, each team instantly seized its wheel and ran, pell-mell, yelling wildly, in a mad race for the village. The spectacle suggested strongly a swarm of ants that had seized a huge living worm and were running frantically with it for their dark galleries. Each team tried to maintain its wheel in an upright position, but it took a sag this way and a lurch that way, then finally rolled over onto the running, tumbling, squirming mass and fell to the ground. But picking it up again instantly, they rushed on, headlong, some under it, some on it, some dragging it, while others were being dragged, and all emitting continuously a dull, maniacal roar. Sometimes one team was in the lead, sometimes the other. As they rushed into the savage city through a narrow alley between two private residences, one of the wheels took a lurch and burst through the wall of one of the residences into the sitting-room. At last, both teams threw down their rolls at the same moment in the public square near the great hut, amid the acclamations of the entire city. All the contestants now hastened into the great hut to enjoy a savage banquet, leaving their wheels to the women and children, who fell upon them in swarms and began, excitedly, to pull out the *mano* in order to tie it into small bundles for use as pillows. 526 [361] [345] [352]

The Bororó imitate Nature also in their musical festivals— if one may call this medley of wild, discordant sounds music. They sing what they call the *bakororó* in the savage town hall nearly every evening just after nightfall. 533 [512] [345]

CHAPTER XXXVI.

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FOLLOWING THE WILD MAN'S TRAIL.—LIFE IN A
SAVAGE CLUB-HOUSE.—FLOATING DOWN
THE RIO POGÓBU.

WHILE we had our headquarters near the Ta Dare Mano
Paro village, we made a visit to the Kogi au Paro village of
the same tribe some twenty miles distant. 122
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We followed a trail used only by the savages, and over
which no civilized man had ever before passed. It led largely
through a forest which was so dense in many places, that the
trail was like an opening through a thick hedge, or through a
wall. This opening was just large enough to permit the
naked wild man to pass comfortably. But we were mounted
on mules, and had one mule carrying two boxes containing
our cooking outfit and food. Consequently, we had to make
the hole larger on all sides. Even after our muleteer, who
led the way on foot, had enlarged the opening, we were com-
pelled to practice rough riding continually to avoid being
raked off our beasts, or having our limbs crushed. Besides,
our passage was barred by many deep ravines, gulches, wash-
outs and streams, the banks of which were often nearly ver-
tical. Our mules were experts in descending the banks,
for they would bunch up their feet, like mountain goats,
and slide down. But, in many cases, they were unable to climb
out on the other side until we had dug steps with a grubbing-
hoe. There was often deep water in these places. We also
encountered at nearly every step great bunches of wild pine- 122
487
[137]
[133]
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137

Brazil.

which was hanging on a tree, and some large, black ants that sting worse than a hornet, planted their stings into the joints of my fingers. Altogether, I felt as if I were on fire. But near morning, we got a little respite from the mosquitoes, for a fog settled down over the forest. As soon as the sun appeared above the horizon, the "day gangs" of our little tormentors renewed the attack. 122 136

All during the second day we continued to carve our way through the tangled vegetation, and to drag ourselves along, arriving at our destination at nightfall, exhausted, and nearly in tatters. To increase our discomfiture, we were short of food, for our cook had neglected to bring along any beef other than the potful he had boiled just before we begun our journey. Therefore, we had to eat sparingly; and to fry the whole potful again and again, each time we dined, to keep it from spoiling. 122

We were a freak to the primitive citizens of the Kogi au Paro village, many of whom having never before seen a *braidí*—white man. The women and children, especially, came out of their huts, and standing at the entrances, like prairie-dogs on their hillocks, gazed intently at us with fear and curiosity. 609

This village had swarmed some time previous to our visit, and was now two villages. The new brood occupied open ground near the river, but the mother horde lived in the wildest locality that I have ever seen human beings dwell in. To reach it, we had to cross the river Pogúbu, which was between one and two hundred yards wide, with a strong, flood-like current. Having nothing with which to ferry ourselves over, we had to plunge in and swim, towing our baggage over, assisted by two Bororó, on a rude float made by binding together three bunches of bamboo rods. There was but one spot on the opposite side of the river where we could get ashore, owing to the impenetrable masses of bushes and trees that lined the edge of the water and reached far out into it. To allow for the current, and to avoid striking below this particular spot, we had to work up at the edge of the river 361 • 621 133 103 122 361

Brazil.

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[22] some distance before casting ourselves into the current. Missing the landing place, there was great danger of our losing, not only our effects, but our lives as well.

We found the cluster of huts situated about one mile back from the river, and in the heart of the densest and most impassable upland tangle that I have ever seen. The trees were fifty feet high and less, and almost numerous enough to form a thick forest, while below them, the whole country was overgrown by a terrible jungle of bushes, briars and coarse grass. A small, circular space, like a gigantic nest, had been cleared in the center of this forbidding thicket, in which fifteen or twenty palm-branch huts clustered in the usual disorder.

[487] This wild man's lair was approached by a serpentine path just wide enough to allow men to pass in single file. The village was hidden away in this manner in order that its position might not be known to enemies, or that it might be very difficult to assault.

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345 We were conducted at once to the great hut, where we were entertained while in the village, and in one corner of which we suspended our hammocks and made ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit. But we found this a hot, stuffy, ill-smelling *hotel*, and in addition, the mosquitoes were very numerous and industrious.

622 As soon as we were settled, we asked to see the chief man of the village, who appeared. He was six feet tall, well proportioned, intelligent and dignified, and the finest appearing Bororó I had seen. He seemed to have more real authority, too, than any Bororó captain I had met. The Bororó have no tribal chief. Each village governs itself, independently, having a few elderly men who are captains, in a way, by reason of seniority, in whom the chief authority is vested. But their powers, and the obedience rendered them, seem to be variable and uncertain. A strong character may arise from time to time, and by favoring circumstances, reach a position where he may command the entire obedience of his village. But ordinarily, the chief men do not appear to possess much real authority, individually. Of course, when they go

/440 cont. /

173 P was born on the Matihurizá, "where there is neither land nor forest," that is, no shore, "and he went far upstream." The Matihurizá is the Tapajoz, if it does not represent the Amazonas itself. Thus, if the main movement of the Karaiben tribes was in the direction from south to north, at least this part of the Nu-Aruak group moved from north to south.

To be sure, the good people are not concerned about the slight contradiction that Uazale came from the far north and that his grandmother Maisô made the Rio Cuyabá as the first of all rivers!

/441/

Chapter XVII.

On the Bororó.

I. Historical. Founding of the Colonies.

Bororó da Campanha and do Cabaçal. "Coroados" = Bororó. Confusion in the literature. Little Sebastian. Martius. Ending of warfare and catechesis. Pillage in the colonies.

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101 Two groups of Bororó are distinguished in the Mato Grosso: the "Bororós da Campanha," or of the plains, and the "Bororós Cabaças," or of the Rio Cabaçal. The Bororós da Campanha live in small settlements below Villa Maria, on the right bank of the Paraguay and Jaurú, toward Bolivia, the Bororós do Cabaçal not far from them in the north, along the banks and in the source region of the river of the same name as well as of the Jaurú, both of which empty into the upper Paraguay from the right, the former at Villa Maria, the latter somewhat farther south.

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[114] These Bororó were not infrequently visited by travelers; in 1827 they came into contact with the Langsdorff Expedition; in the same year the Austrian naturalist Natterer gathered an abundant collection among them, now in the Vienna Hofmuseum; Count Castlenau and his companion Weddell, who stayed in the Mato Grosso during their famous crossing of South America in

/443 cont. /

- 114 touching stories and who was baptized "Sebastian" in Cuyabá. "We shall give a few words which we learned from him." There follow 52 words -- unfortunately copied from the glossary of Martius, pp. 195 ff., and originating unfortunately from the "Coroados" on the distant Rio Xipotó, on the border of Rio de Janeiro, who, like the "Coroados" of Paraná, have nothing more in common with the "Coroados" of the Mato Grosso than the unfortunate Portuguese name! Without the name, the disagreeable confusion* would have been impossible. Moutinho had an

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* Moutinho says: "We once showed little Sebastian the sky. He, raising his hands as a sign of reverence, answered us humbly "tupáng" (N.B. Tupí word = thunderstorm, interpreted and adopted by the missionaries as "God"). We showed him the sun -- he said "obé" ("Coroado" word from the Rio Xipotó = sun) and he bowed his head to show respect." No "Coroado" boy ever delivered to Cuyabá knew the words tupáng and obé, and still less did one ever know the reverence so beautifully described by Moutinho. Such anecdotes, however, are taken at face value by the innocent reader and put into circulation. The author himself, in his ignorance, has no idea of what great nonsense he is dish-ing up in his well-meaning way.

opportunity to inform himself better, /444/ foolishly not utilized, when he visited the village of the tribal division on the Rio Cabaçal called, not "Coroados," but correctly "Bororó." On this visit, which he describes on pages 169 ff., he should have noted that the Indians spoke a dialect of the language of devout little Sebastian. Again he consulted his Martius and there on page 14 found the "Bororós" and here copied 40 words which actually belong to the Bororó on the Cabaçal. Here, too, his ill-luck

/446 cont. /

648 women climbed over the garden walls and climbed trees, as was their habit, to fetch down fruit for themselves.

The province sighed with relief; with customary exaggeration, the Bororó were estimated at 10,000 souls and the entire 10,000 were already visualized as planting mandioca and working in the sugar mills. The government immediately made 70 contos (at 1000 milreis) available for the catechesis and the citizenry voluntarily added three contos, which altogether amounted to about 140,000 marks at that time. The expenses increased within a short time to 118 contos. The Indians were settled in two colonies: the one where the Prata flows into the S. Lourenço was called Thereza Christina after the Empress; the other where the Piquiry flows into the S. Lourenço was called Izabel after the Crown Princess and wife of Count d'Eu. The President also founded a "Collegio de Nossa Senhora da Conceição" for the education of Indian children -- a school that was never attended by pupils.

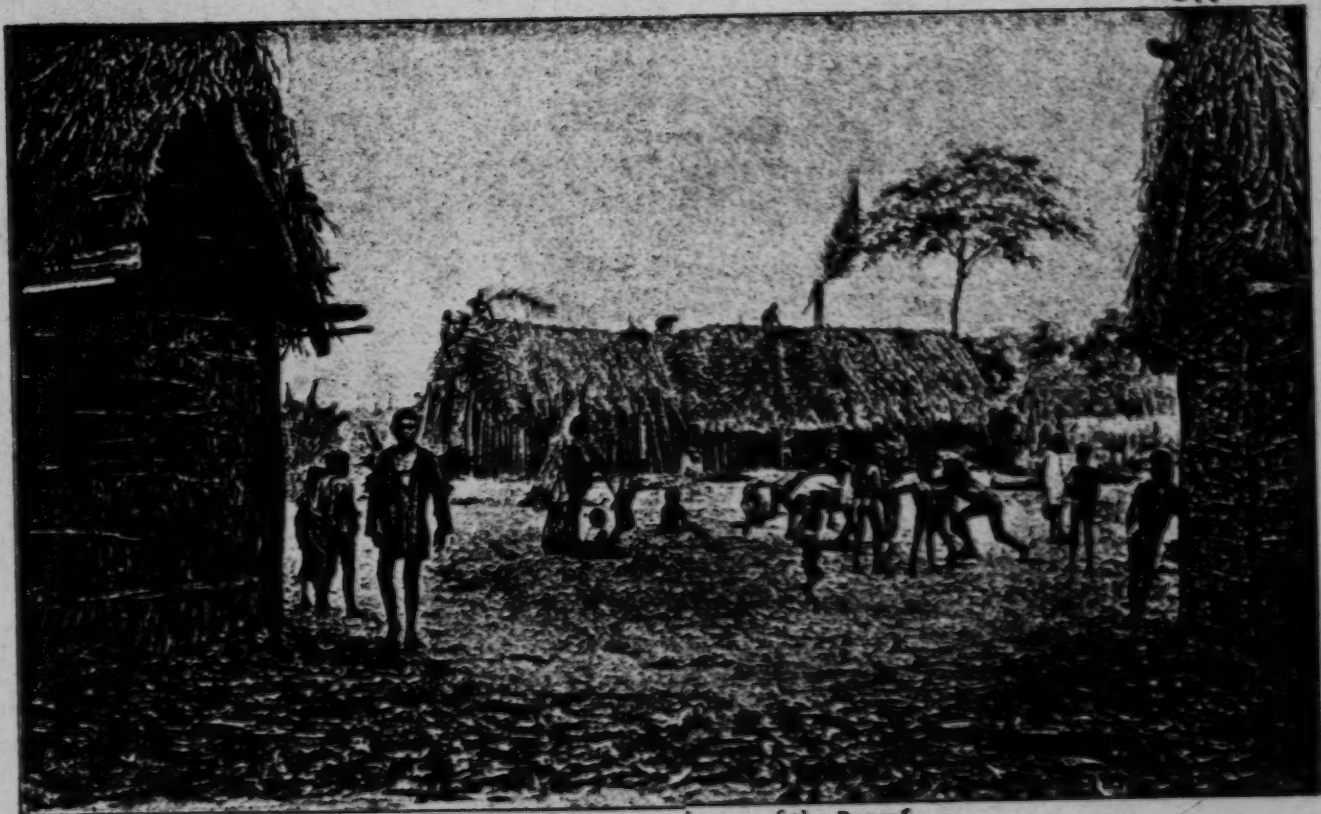
648 Solemnly the entire company was baptized by the bishop.
1797 The then President, Don Alvaro Marcondes, and his wife were godfather and godmother for all; Chief Moguyokuri, whose personal acquaintance we shall make -- truly a magnificent figure of an Indian, 1.9 meters tall and, despite some inborn brutality, an exceedingly good-natured gentleman -- was given the name Alvaro. His Christianity, to be sure, was limited to his remembering this name for a few days.

648 "Muguiocury," reported the Jornal do Commercio in a
[177] Cuyaban letter, "seems to be completely identified with the cause of civilizing his tribe, assiduously visits the palace to call on the President and bring him presents; he manifests the greatest sympathy toward him and calls him 'Godfather,' kissing his hand as often as he sees him. Each time he meets the President he shows his satisfaction with much laughter and repeated embraces."

Difficile est, satiram non scribere /it is difficult not to write satire/. It is indeed very difficult. Good Moguyokuri undoubtedly had the best intentions, within the limits of his intelligence, as

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2: Steinen--552 FD-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8
Plate XXV



In front of the men's house of the Bororó.

/449 cont. /

122 only with grass. A single, but tall tree stood beside the little brook, whose banks were lined with many young buritf palms. It required courage to live and work here. Except for the farm walls at S. José, scarcely anything along the way reminded one of the struggles with the Bororó. Only we were occasionally struck by low, narrow arbors which had been made by putting together dwarfed sertão trees; they were attributable to the soldiers and had served for protection during the night. On 19 March, across terribly desolate grassy areas, we reached the first brooks flowing toward the S. Lourenço, which were as yet only a few meters wide. On the Ribeirão Prata we found a charming little landscape, which, with its woods and succulent meadow and the silver ribbon of the little source stream, vividly recalled our home to us. Only a few young palm trees argued against this, and the thermometer, which stubbornly measured 22.8° for the very refreshing, "ice-cold" water. On 21 March there followed the descent from the plateau terrace past picturesque red sandstone rocks, and in the afternoon we reached the orange groves of the military colony, where the beautiful forest-edged S. Lourenço flowed past at a width of 127 meters. We were very hospitably received by the commander, Captain Serejo.

361 On the next day we arrived at Thereza Christina. It is situated upstream, also on the right bank and not far below where the Prata empties, but the S. Lourenço makes great bends between the two colonies and the forest area is so swampy that one is forced to make a long detour inland.

[342] Above a bank a few meters high, an extensive forest clearing; on the open place covered with dry weeds, many massive old tree trunk still standing, and here and there hewn trunks lying about, a great many low, rectangular, in part long huts with gable roofs covered with palm straw which begin just above the door; everything prosaic and cheerless in the same grayish-yellow shade of straw and loam, surrounded by forest on three sides, the fourth bordered by a majestic, wide stream and beyond it a dark strip of luxuriant forest, above which appears an extended chain of flat hills -- that was Thereza Christina.

/450 cont. /

361 Arrangement of the colony. The principal building of the colony had as its groundplan a long, very narrow rectangle. It consisted of a number of rooms with stamped loam floor, loam-plastered paneled walls, and a low straw-roof; the doors all opened out on the same side facing the main plaza. The furniture was limited to tables, chairs, and chests. On one end was Duarte's one-window room without a door to the outside; then came the room where meals were eaten, where Caldas sometimes taught school in the morning, and where people gathered generally, with a door to the plaza and also an opposite one leading out to the rear, to the left the entrance to Duarte's room and to the right the door to a supply room in which alcoholic spirits were kept and the key to which played an important part in dealings with the Indians. There then followed, with doors to the plaza, the cadêa /jail/, a small detention room for the soldiers, which was always occupied and the inhabitant of which was obliged to spend the day in the hammock, a room for Eliseo and the administrator, and supply rooms. The apothecary had his well-stocked poison-kitchen in a little house by himself which lay a few steps /451/ opposite. The soldiers lived in small ranchos, some of them toward the river, some on the edge of the forest.

[342] Round about lay the Indian huts, like gabled roofs standing on the ground, six paces wide, ten to 13 paces long; they afforded protection against the sun and to some extent against rain, left nothing to be desired in the way of simplicity, and served as an abode for one family each.

345 In the center of the colony a large area was left free; here stood the so-called ranchão, namely, large rancho or baitó of the Indians, cf. Plate 25 /see p. 552/, ten paces wide and 26 paces long. It, too, was built without any skill, though with the help of the soldiers; the longitudinal sides consisted of poles which were covered carelessly with palm leaves and were so far apart that one could enter almost anywhere; the transverse sides were even more open. The illustration shows the Indians busy repairing the roof with palm branches. The bachelors worked and slept in the baitó; it was also the center for all festivities,

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[562] especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case of death, and consultations. The women had free access and, as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the
514 forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
339 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never
241 used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians. There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the
621 wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20 along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time. As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case conceivable.

179 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the
291 Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and industrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

[131] The Umotina, who call themselves the Batorié,
 [101] are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraterni-
 dade Indígena near Barra do Bugre on the Para-
 guay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the
 Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
 [197] number about 65, are related linguistically to the
 [161] Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In
 [184] two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
 their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type
 [142] kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. The local Brazilians call them the Bar-
 bados, owing to their beardedness.

● 361 In the old days the village (*mukimo*) was built
 on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of
 621 houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
 342 (*ishipa*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming
 down to the ground, the whole being covered with
 pacova palm fronds except the two ends which
 were left open. This house type is the same as that
 formerly found among the Guató who live to the
 south of the Umotina. Each family had its own
 house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
 the ground. The husband kept a fire going all
 [374] night not only for warmth but also to drive away
 the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after
 puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotókwa*) made
 from a buriti palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled
 over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it
 [834] and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide
 the end of the penis from the women. Men
 302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the
 back of their heads, and allowed their beards to
 grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
 [304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the
 lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand,
 cut their hair short, and plucked out their eye-
 brows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
 291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imeld*) made
 304 from woven cotton. Like the men, the women
 had their ear lobes pierced.

[P. 106 (B)]